Office - Supreme Court, U. S.
FILED
JAN 23 1952
CHARLES ELMORE CROPLEY
CLERK

LIBRARY
SUPREME COURT, U.S.

IN THE

Supreme Court of the United States

OCTOBER TERM (1951)

No. 118

JOSEPH BEAUHARNAIS,

Petitioner,

vs.

THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF ILLINOIS,

Respondent.

MEMORANDUM, SUBMITTED IN RESPONSE TO REQUEST OF THE COURT, OF HISTORICAL DATA CONCERNING RACIAL AND LABOR RIOTS AND VIOLENCE IN ILLINOIS.

IVAN A. ELLIOTT,
Attorney General of the State of Illinois,
160 North La Salle Street, Suite 900
Chicago (1) Illinois.

JOHN S. BOYLE,
State's Attorney of Cook County, Illinois,
Criminal Court Building,
26th and California Avenue,
Chicago, Illinois,

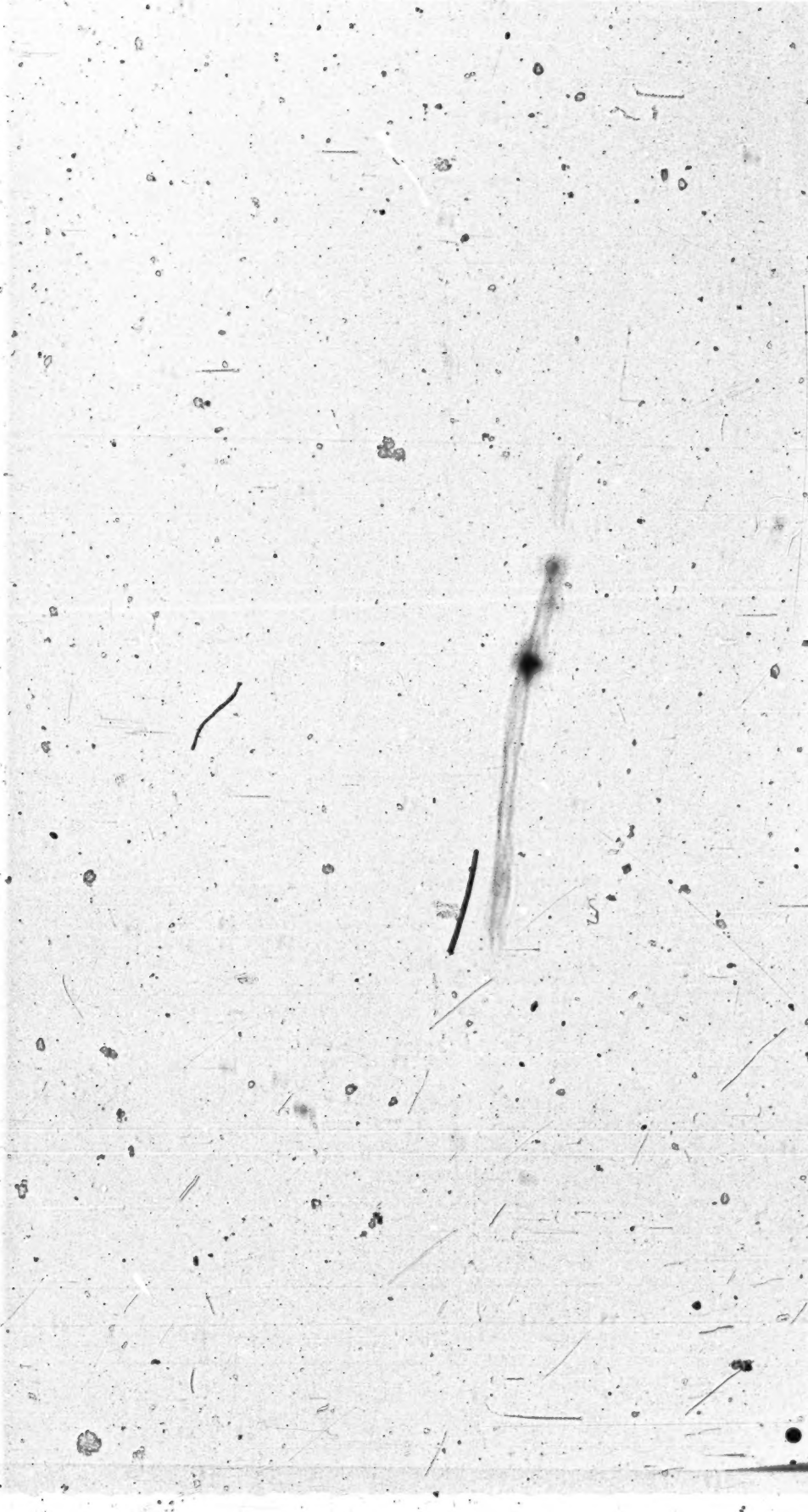
Counsel for Respondent.

WILLIAM C. WINES,
JOHN T. COBURN,
Assistant Attorneys General
of Illinois,
160 North La Salle Street,
Chicago (1) Illinois.

ALBERT I. ZEMEL,
Assistant State's Attorney,
26th and California Avenue,
Chicago, Illinois.

Of Counsel.

Printed by Authority of the State of Illinois [redacted]



IN THE

Supreme Court of the United States

OCTOBER TERM (1951)

No. 118

JOSEPH BEAUHARNAIS,

Petitioner,

vs.

THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF ILLINOIS,

Respondent.

MEMORANDUM, SUBMITTED IN RESPONSE TO REQUEST OF THE COURT, OF HISTORICAL DATA CONCERNING RACIAL AND LABOR RIOTS AND VIOLENCE IN ILLINOIS.

This memorandum is submitted in response to the request of the Court from the bench, *per* Mr. Justice Frankfurter, for *data* concerning race riots and inter-racial violence in Illinois, as that request was supplemented, *per* Mr. Justice Black, for similar *data* concerning labor riots and violence in Illinois.

The *data* on race riots and violence have been compiled under the auspices of the City of Chicago's Commission on Human Relations, a Commission created by the City of Chicago.

The *data* on labor riots and violence in Illinois have been compiled at the request and under the auspices of that Commission by Bernard Goldstein, University of Chicago Sociologist.

These *data* are printed, without emendation by the Attorney General of Illinois, submitted to the Court and

served upon opposing counsel immediately upon receipt thereof from the above mentioned Commissions.

Every effort has been made to prepare these *data* with all dispatch consistent with the careful research required.

Respectfully submitted,

IVAN A. ELLIOTT,
Attorney General of the State of Illinois,

JOHN S. BOYLE,
State's Attorney of Cook County, Illinois,

Counsel for Respondent.

WILLIAM C. WINES,
JOHN L. COBURN,
Assistants Attorney General,

ALBERT I. ZEMEL,
Assistant State's Attorney,
Of Counsel.

RESEARCH MEMORANDUM NO. 5.

Research Memorandum No. 5, "First Annual Report of the Illinois Inter-Racial Commission", printed in 1944:

ILLINOIS RACE RIOTS.

Among the most disturbing homefront problems of the war are the barbarous and riotous racial conflicts which have arisen, from time to time, in various sections of the country. The anti-Mexican "zoot-suit" outbreaks in California made national headlines some months ago. In Boston, anti-Semitic disturbances have been occurring intermittently for some time, and on Chicago's near west side, there has been at least one similar incident. Detroit, New York, Beaumont, Mobile, Alexandria, and other communities have witnessed anti-Negro rioting during the past year.

Fortunately none of these clashes with the possible exception of the one in Detroit, has resulted in consequences comparable to those of our major race riots. Recent disturbances have either been brought quickly under control or citizens response to the incipient clashes was rational enough to recognize the dangers inherent in mob rule. Nevertheless, these difficulties occurring so closely together and spanning the nation are symptomatic of a disease which seems to be growing progressively stronger.

At a period such as this, it seems practical to examine other periods of similar tension so as to isolate, if possible, the characteristics of the disease and to root out and eliminate its causes. Illinois is an excellent experimental laboratory for this purpose. Since 1908 there have been three major riots in this State, sufficiently separated geographically to afford a good opportunity for observation. This memorandum will review each of them.

I.

Springfield, 1908

The race riot in Springfield, Illinois, on August 14 and 15, 1908, presents the spectacle of a peaceful midwestern town thrown headlong into the fury and hysteria of mob-rule without apparent reason and without preliminary development of socially significant race frictions.

On August 15, 1908, the Springfield press carried glaring headlines accompanied by a distorted and inflammatory account concerning the alleged rape of Mrs. Earl Hallam, a young white woman. The local press bears a serious responsibility for having helped to arouse mob feeling by insisting that the so-called crime was "one of the greatest outrages that ever happened in Springfield" and that "no effort should be spared to find the black viper to force appropriate punishment." A partial text of one of the articles which appeared that morning apparently before any arrests had been made, follows:

"One of the greatest outrages that ever happened in Springfield took place at about 11:30 o'clock last night when Mrs. Earl Hallam, 1153 North 5th Street, was dragged from her bed into the yard at the rear of her home and criminally assaulted by an unidentified Negro. The Negro gained access through the kitchen door and went to Mrs. Hallam's room where she was sleeping. . . . She thought it was her husband and she so addressed him. When she saw that it was a Negro, she tried to scream, but the fiend choked her and dragged her from the bed. The Negro then dragged her across the room in which she had been sleeping, up two steps into the kitchen, across the kitchen and out the rear door across the back porch, down the porch steps along a board walk through a gate into a garden at the rear of the house. It was here that he assaulted her. Mrs. Hallam was left lying bruised and unconscious in the garden. . . . Mrs. Hallam sustained besides several bad bruises on her neck and throat, as a result of the relentless clutches of the brute, many cuts and bruises about the body, wounds received when she was dragged through the house and out into the rear yard. . . . Mrs. Hallam was able to give the police a graphic description of the Negro, even telling what kind of clothing he

wore. She states that she is sure that she can identify him if she sees him again. The Negro is described as being rather young and of stout build. He wore working clothes and a colored shirt at the time. . . . There is no doubt that the case is one of premeditated assault. Nothing was taken from the house by the Negro. There was a small jewel box containing several pieces of valuable jewelry and some money was in a drawer in the room occupied by Mrs. Hallam. The assault was one of exceptional brutality and remarkable brazenness. Mr. and Mrs. Hallam are among the best citizens of Springfield and are highly respected and honored as such. That such an outrage should occur in a principal residence district and in one of the best homes of the city is to be greatly deplored. It is bad enough to have such characters to contend with in the slums. A more dastardly act has not been enacted in Springfield for years and no effort should be spared to find the black viper to force appropriate punishment."

Shortly after the appearance of this story, a Negro, George Richardson, who had been working in the neighborhood the day before the attack, was accused of the crime by Mrs. Hallam and arrested when he returned to work the next morning. He was placed in the County Jail and, as soon as it was learned that an arrest had been made of a suspect in the Hallam case, crowds began to gather about the jail. Feeling against Richardson was intensified because of the fact that three or four weeks before, Clergy A. Ballard, a white man, had been murdered by Joe James, a Negro drug and whisky addict. James, who was later tried and hanged for this offense, was in the jail at the same time that Richardson was incarcerated. It is reported that the three or four hundred persons who had gathered "seem good-natured rather than bloodthirsty." No effort was made to disperse the mob, but at about five o'clock both Richardson and James were secretly taken from the jail and transported by automobile to Sherman, Illinois, some miles north of Springfield, and thence by train, to Bloomington.

In the meantime the local press published a picture of George Richardson carrying the following caption:

"Negro arrested—Suspected of making assault on Mrs. Hallam and whom Mrs. Hallam says she believes is the

guilty man. Richardson protests his innocence and claims he can prove an alibi. He has a bad record."

Immediately below was a picture of Mrs. Hallam with the following observation:

"Victim of Negro fiend. The above cut was made from a photo of Mrs. Hallam taken three years ago when she graduated from the Springfield High School. Her maiden name was Miss Mabel Trees, daughter of George Trees, a well-known farmer residing on a farm near Sherman, Illinois."

Despite the fact that the Lowden report subsequently stated that "Richardson had no criminal record" and that "he (Richardson) and two of his family were property owners in Springfield," the local press carried the following:

"Richardson has a long and checkered career. Though only thirty-six years of age, he has twice been an inmate of the penitentiary at Chester. On one of these charges, he served two years in the penitentiary at Chester, having been convicted of the charge of killing John Gowdy in Bill Johnson's saloon on East Washington Street about five years ago, and the other term was served for carving up a man with whom he had engaged in a quarrel. For a brief time, he also conducted a saloon on East Washington Street, between 6th and 7th Streets."

In the early evening, the mob began to demand that the sheriff produce the two Negroes. When they were finally convinced that Richardson and James were not in the jail, they began to storm toward the restaurant of Harry Loper who, it was rumored, had provided the automobile in which the two men had been removed. The restaurant was five blocks away. At about 8:30, after the mob has insistently called for Loper to emerge from his restaurant, someone threw a brick through the window and, in a few moments, the front of the restaurant had been completely smashed. In the rioting and shooting which occurred at this point, Louis Johnson, of 1208 East Reynolds Street, was shot and killed. His body was found at the foot of the stairs leading to the barroom in Loper's restaurant.

The Lowden Commission's report then describes the mob's activities as follows:

"When the mob began to surge through the town, the Fire Department was called to disperse it, but the mob cut the hose. Control having been lost by the sheriff and police, Governor Deneen called out the militia. The mob, by this time very much excited, started for the Negro district through Washington Street, along which a large number of Negroes lived on upper floors. Raiding second-hand stores which belonged to white men, the mob secured guns, axes, and other weapons with which it destroyed places of business operated by Negroes and drove out all of the Negro residents from Washington Street. Then it turned north into Ninth Street."

Roy Young, 22 years old, later arrested for participating in the riot, described this occasion as follows:

"When the crowd commenced gathering in front of the County jail after the Negroes, I went over. When the Negroes commenced shooting on East Washington Street, some of us broke into Fishman's Pawn Shop to get some guns. I took three or four revolvers and some cartridges and some of the other fellows got some guns, too.

"We went east on Washington Street and, when the fighting got bad, I commenced shooting at Negroes. I shot at every one at whom I got a chance. I guess I hit some of them, but I don't know. They tried to kill me just the same. When we went over on Madison Street, someone started setting fire to the houses of Negroes and I helped. I guess I poured oil on about fifteen or sixteen houses and set fire to them. . . . When we got to Ninth and Madison Streets, I was just setting fire to a house when a white man ran up to me and told me not to burn the place—that it belonged to him and was just rented to Negroes. We didn't burn this house."

At the northeast corner of Ninth and Jefferson Streets, the mob set fire to the building of Scott Burton, a Negro, and lynched Burton. They found him in the yard in back of his shop, tied a rope around his neck, and dragged him through the streets. The mob burned and mutilated the body, and then hung him to a tree. After riddling Burton with bullets, the crowd was dispersed by a company of militia which arrived from Decatur, Illinois. It was necessary to shoot into the crowd before they gave way. At least two of the men in the mob were wounded.

The following garbled version of the lynching is the account of a contemporary newspaper:

"After burning many houses, the remnant of the mob, which became more and more desperate as the night passed, finally gratified its thirst for blood this morning at three o'clock when an unknown Negro was lynched at the corner of 12th and Madison Streets (sic) right in the heart of the so-called 'bad lands.'

"It is reported the name of the Negro lynched is Charles Hunter.

"Troops arrived at the scene too late to prevent the lynching.

"Some of the members of the mob declared that the Negro lynched had shot two white men. They said that, in a fight with the whites, the Negro was forced into a corner at the saloon and grocery at the corner of 12th and Madison Streets. When retreat was cut off, the Negro is said to have opened fire, wounding two.

"Then came the cry 'Get the rope!'

"All the members of the mob eagerly took up the cry. The Negro was caught and dragged to the street. Here he was beaten and then a rope was swung around his neck and the other end of the rope thrown over the limb of a tree right in front of the store. With a cry of satisfaction, the Negro was sung high off the ground. He was dead in a few minutes. Many shots were fired at the body. Just then the troops arrived. . . . During the fight that followed, two men were shot by the troops: Mike Lucey, shot in leg; and Charles Wolf, 913 North Klein, shot in leg."

On the same day, the following inflammatory editorial appeared in the local press:

"Words are inadequate to express the brutal and hellish character of the outrage of which Mrs. Earl Hallam was the victim Thursday night. This lady was dragged from her bed where she had been sleeping, choked and bruised, and taken to the yard of the residence and assaulted by a Negro fiend. This devilish deed was not committed in the suburbs or in a disreputable neighborhood, but in a highly respectable portion of the city and in a moderately thickly settled neighborhood. It must have been premeditated and was in all its harrowing details so brutal as to arouse a

feeling of riotous indignation among the people of the city. That such an atrocious act could be committed in Springfield alarmed those who have wives and daughters who are unprotected in their homes at night to the possible danger of a similar attack; for if Mrs. Hallam could be made the victim of a brutal assault, what is there to prevent others from becoming victims of like outrages?

"Is there any way to relieve the community of this fear? That is the question in connection with this horrible crime for our people to consider. The prompt punishment with the extreme penalty of the law of those who commit or attempt to commit such crimes would doubtless insure greater safety. But to this should be added the exercise of the power and authority vested in the city administration to expel from the city the scores of worthless and lawless Negroes who come here, if not to commit crimes themselves, to 'egg on' others of their race to do so. The disreputable dives where this class congregates should be suppressed and kept closed and the police should be instructed to compel the vagrants and lawless to leave the city.

"The universal spirit of profuse sorrow and sympathy for the unfortunate victim and her family is accompanied by the desire to see the brutal perpetrator of the deed brought to speedy and summary justice."[*]

On the morning of August 16, the mob reassembled in the Court House Square and marched south on Fifth Street to Monroe, west on Monroe to Spring, and south on Spring to Edwards. There they lynched W. K. Donnigan, 84 years old, who owed the half block of ground where he lived. According to the Lowden Report, he was found sleeping in his own yard and was quickly strung up to a tree across the street. His throat was then cut and his body mutilated. Contemporary accounts insist that, as the mob approached Donnigan's home, he fired a revolver to hold back the crowd. The mob became incensed and applied a firebrand to his house. "It is understood," according to one gruesome account "that Donnigan's throat was cut before the rope was tied about his neck. Strange to say, when the body was cut down by the police, the victim was still breathing faintly." No reason was given for the lynching except that

---

[*] Emphasis supplied.

Donnigan had been married to a white woman for more than thirty years.

As the rioting died down, a feeling of community guilt began to pervade the town. An arrest was made of one of the lynchers, and it is interesting to note that the inevitable search for a culprit fastened itself upon a member of another minority group. The following headline and story appeared in the local press:

"ARREST ST. LOUIS JEW AS THE RINGLEADER —Soon after the injured man was taken to the station, A. Raymer, a young Hebrew, twenty years of age, of St. Louis, was arrested by Detective Jones. It is said that Raymer made an attempt to drag Jones from a street car on which a part of the mob rode and when a suitable point was reached, Detective Jones took Raymer in custody and, with assistance, took him to the county jail. After considerable trouble during which Raymer was beaten by the police until he begged for mercy, he was forced to give the names of several others thought to be implicated in the riot Monday. Raymer was forced to divulge the information behind closed doors, but the blows given him and his screams for mercy, as well as the officers' threats to kill him if he didn't tell more, could be plainly heard from without. He finally gave the authorities several names of men whom he said were with him at the time of the lynching. *Raymer is said to be a character from St. Louis.*" (Emphasis supplied.)

The local press also published an incongruous justification of its role in agitating community feeling. On August 16, the following box carefully centered so as to attract attention, appeared in one of the local papers:

"It is unnecessary for the (a local newspaper) to call attention to the complete and perfect manner in which it told the story in detail and with accuracy from every point (sic) of the scenes and incidents occurring in connection with the work of the mob in burning the homes of the colored people in the east end of the city, the demolishing of store fronts, and the destruction of property which ended in the lynching of Scott Burton. The paper told the story completely and every detail was covered. Not only in a news feature did it excel but in its exclusive presentation of the pictures of the principals in the outrage which

led to mob rule in Springfield—Mrs. Earl Hallam and the Negro suspect, George Richardson. From a mechanical standpoint, the edition was perfect, the headlines and the stories, being arranged in such a manner as to enable the reader to grasp, without any trouble, all the details in connection thereto.

"From a news standpoint, containing as it did nothing but news, covering beside the local happenings, all the principal news of the world—the edition of 25,000 copies issued solely for the use of paid subscribers and for street sales—has never been equaled in this city."

By Sunday evening, August 16, the town was quiet. No effort was made to reorganize the mob. The whole city was as if under martial law; the saloons were shut and every place of business was closed at nine o'clock.

During a subsequent inquiry by a special Grand Jury, many tragi-comic elements emerged. Certain disreputable facts were disclosed concerning Mrs. Hallam's character; and she admitted that, although she had been brutally beaten by a white man on the night indicated, Richardson was not present and had no connection with the affair. She signed an affidavit exonerating him, admitting that she had not been raped and that, for reasons which she did not desire to divulge, she was keeping the name of the real assailant a secret. In the light of her observations before the Grand Jury that she "would be the last person in the world to accuse any person—black or white—of such an inhuman act," the attitude of the press and the unreasoned violence of the mob becomes particularly disturbing because of its utter irresponsibility.

During the course of the riot, two Negroes were lynched —Scott Burton and W. K. Donnigan—and four white men were killed. They were Louis Johnson; John Colwell, 1517 Matheney Street; J. W. Scott, 125 E. Adams Street; and Frank Delmore, who was killed by a stray bullet. Seventy-nine persons were injured. Among the typical injuries sustained were those to Albert Byerline, 911 So. First Street, shot in hip by stray bullet at Eighth and Washington Streets; Ed Brinkman, struck on head with brick; Ronald Sturges, artery cut in left forearm; John Broderick, shot in groin; William Smith, colored, "tied to telegraph pole and face beaten to jelly"; and Phil Pollack, of Chicago,

whose hands were badly lacerated while assisting Mayor Reece in escaping from the mob at Looper's. Property destroyed amounted to over a hundred thousand dollars and included an entire block of houses between Tenth and Eleventh Streets, which were burned with all their contents, a number of saloons, a barber shop, and a restaurant. At least 78 indictments were returned, but no record of convictions has been uncovered.

II.

East St. Louis, 1917

Rioting in East St. Louis began the night of May 28, 1917, when it was rumored, although never verified, that two white men were held up by a Negro. Mob violence started shortly after a mass meeting held by city officials at which the problem of the Negro influx into East St. Louis had been discussed. It is estimated that from 10,000 to 12,000 Negroes had come to East St. Louis from the South during the winter of 1916-17 and that during the year and a half preceding the riot, the number of such migrants was close to 18,000. The reasons for the Negro migration were the usual ones: industrial prosperity due to the first World War, inducements held out to Negroes by Northern employers, particularly meat packers, and the desire of many Negroes to break their ties with feudal South. The immediate effect of the increase in the colored population of East St. Louis was an acute housing shortage. There was also a tendency on the part of many employers to keep the wage level down because of the satisfactory labor supply—a fact which resulted in smoldering resentment on the part of many labor unions.

At the meeting of May 28, 1917, Mayor Mollman announced that he would do everything he could to induce employers to stop recruiting from among the Negroes in the south and shipping them in. Addresses were made by several labor leaders and the Mayor promised to take the matter up officially. Immediately after the adjournment of the meeting, the City Council met, with the Mayor presiding. They had hardly started when the noise of the rioting reached the Council Chamber and the Council adjourned in an effort to stem the trouble.

During this period, which constituted the preliminary phase to serious rioting which occurred later, several Negroes' homes were fired by the mob, and during the four days following, approximately twelve white men and forty Negroes were injured. An effort was made to get troops to East St. Louis, but it was not until the second day of the rioting that the troops arrived. Orders were issued promptly by Mayor Mollman to close all saloons, and, in some of the districts affected, moving picture houses.

The following account of the riot appeared in the May 29 issue of the St. Louis Globe Democrat: "A mob, estimated at 3,000 persons determined, as they fought, to rid the city of Negroes imported to work in factories and ammunition plants, swept through the streets last night and early this morning, attacking and beating Negroes wherever found. Several Negroes have been injured so severely that they will probably die.

"The mob stopped street cars and inter-urban cars in its search and, at one o'clock, was threatening to storm the jail where at least a score of Negroes had been taken for keeping. Ambulances made the rounds of the streets where the mobs had traveled to pick up unconscious and injured blacks and take them to hospitals and temporary shelters.

"There were pitful scenes in the Negro section; signs of old Negro men and women, pleading with leaders of the mob to spare their lives, homes, and possessions, were common. The screaming of children, sobs of women, and curses of the Negro men could be plainly heard above the din of derision raised by those composing the mob.

"All pleas were met with the same answer: 'Leave town!' The mob was not imbued with the spirit of brutality or ruthlessness. It was rather the spirit of a people exasperated to a degree of determination that could not be checked."

The rioting started afresh on Sunday and futher violence occurred during which three white men and three Negroes were reported wounded. On the following day, one Negro was shot and two others were beaten.

For a month, East St. Louis sat on a keg of dynamite. No outbreaks occurred, but resentments were seething below a none too placid surface. On the night of July 1, 1917, an unidentified automobile (some witnesses said two) went

through the Negro section of the city, its occupants firing promiscuously into homes. This wanton action aroused fierce resentment among the Negroes who organized for their defense and armed themselves with guns. According to the Lowden report, "The ringing of a church bell . . . drew a crowd of them, and they marched through the streets ready to avenge the attack. A second automobile filled with white men crossed their path. The Negroes cursed them, commanded them to drive on, and fired a volley into the machine. The occupants, however, were not rioters but policemen and reporters. One policeman was killed and one was so seriously wounded that he died later."

This was the spark that set off the bloodiest holocaust in the history of East St. Louis. On the second of July, more than 100 Negroes were shot or burned to death, 60 homes of Negroes in the East St. Louis Black Valley were wiped out, and other property damage of about $400,000 was sustained. According to State's Attorney Schaumloeffel of St. Clair County, a total of 250 were killed in the rioting that night. The first white man killed in the night's rioting was Tom Moore, of Granite City. He was standing beside a soldier when a bullet, believed to have been from a Negro sniper's gun, struck him in the body. He was instantly killed. One Negro was found hanging from a telegraph pole on Broadway near the scene of the fiercest rioting. Twenty-five bodies of Negroes were counted lying along South Broadway between Fourth and Sixth Streets. From morning until night, mobs made up largely of idle men and half-grown boys ran after Negroes that appeared on the street. As soon as a Negro was sighted, there would be a chorus of "Go get him," and if the man was caught, he was badly beaten with clubs and, in several cases, shot. Some of the beaten and wounded were sent to St. Mary's Hospital and the Deaconess Hospital, but the number hospitalized represented only a small percentage of those that were handled by the mob. Women and children were not spared. An instance was given of a Negro child two years old who was shot down and thrown into a doorway of a burning building.

A contemporary eye-witness account reveals mob excesses which stagger the imagination. Part of this description follows:

"For an hour and a half last evening I saw the massacre of helpless Negroes at Broadway and Fourth Street in downtown E. St. Louis, where a black skin was a death warrant.

"I have read of St. Bartholomew's Night, I have heard stories of the latter day crimes of the Turks in Armenia, and I have learned to loathe the German army for its barbarity in Belgium, but I do not believe that Moslem fanaticism or Prussian frightfulness could perpetrate murder of more deliberate brutality than those which I saw committed in daylight by citizens of the State of Abraham Lincoln.

"I saw man after man, with hands raised, pleading for his life, surrounded by groups of men—men who had never seen him before and knew nothing of him except that he was black—and saw them administer the historic sentence of intolerance, death by stoning.

"I saw one of these men, almost dead from a savage shower of stones, hanged with a clothesline, and when it broke, hanged with a rope which held. Within a few paces of the pole from which he was suspended, four other Negroes lay dead or dying, another having been removed dead a short time before.

"I saw one of these men, covered with blood and half-conscious raise himself on his elbow and look feebly about, when a young man, standing directly behind him lifted a flat stone in both hands and hurled it upon his neck. This young man was much better dressed than most of the others. He walked away unmolested. . . .

"And now women began to appear. One frightened black girl, probably twenty years old, got as far as Broadway with no worse treatment than jeers and threats. At Broadway, in view of the militiamen, the white women, several of whom had been watching the massacre of the Negro men, pounced on the Negress. I do not wish to be understood as saying that these women were representative of the womanhood of East St. Louis. Their faces showed all too plainly exactly who and what they were. But they were the heroines of the moment with that gathering of men, and when one man, sick of the brutality he had seen, seized one of the women by the arm to stop an impending blow, he was whirled away, with fists under his nose, and with more

show of actual anger than had been bestowed on any of the Negroes.

"'Let the girls have her' was the shout as the women attacked the young Negress. The victim's cry, 'Please, please, I ain't done nothin',' was stopped by a blow in the mouth with a broomstick which one of the women swung like a baseball bat. Another woman seized the Negress' hands and the blow was repeated as she struggled helpless. Finger nails clawed her hair and the sleeves were torn from her waist when some of the men called 'Now let her see how fast she can run!' The women did not readily leave off beating her, but they stopped short of murder and the crying hysterical girl ran down the street.

"A Negro, his head laid open by a great stone cut, had been dragged to the end of the alley on Fourth Street and a small rope was being put about his neck. There was joking comment on the weakness of the rope and everyone was prepared for what happened when it was pulled over a projecting cable box a short distance up the pole. It broke, letting the Negro tumble back on his knees and causing one of the men who was pulling on it to sprawl on the pavement. . . . A rope obviously strong enough for its purpose was (then) brought. Right here I saw the most sickening incident of the evening. To put it around the Negroes' neck, one of the lynchers stuck his fingers inside the gaping scalp and lifted the Negro's head by it, literally bathing his hand in the man's bood. 'Get hold and pull for East St. Louis,' called a man with a black coat and a new straw hat, as he seized the other end of the rope. The rope was long, but not too long for the number of hands that grasped it, and this time the Negro was lifted to a height of about seven feet from the ground. The body was left hanging there."

By the evening of July 2, the fury of the mob had spent itself and the riot subsided. At that time there were seventeen officers and 270 men on duty and, by July 4, the force had increased to thirty-seven officers and 1411 men comprising some five companies of militia. A Congressional Committee, which later investigated the riots, condemned the conduct of the militia and the political administration of the town. In the estimation of the Committee, the troops were poorly officered and, in only a few cases, did their

duty. The report states that, "They seemed moved by the same spirit of indifference or cowardice that marked the conduct of the police force. As a rule they fraternized with the mob, joked with them and made no serious effort to restrain them." Of Colonel S. O. Tripp, the Commanding Officer, it is said that "he was ignorant of his duties, blind to his responsibilities and deaf to every intelligent appeal that was made to him." Many instances were given where members of the militia actively participated in the depredations of the mob and encouraged it in its murders, arson, and general destruction. The behavior of the troops, according to the Lowden report, was condemned not only by the Congressional Committee but by citizens generally, and a special inquiry was made into their conduct by the Military and Naval Department of the State of Illinois. The Commanding Officer, though severely censured by the Congressional Committee, was exonerated by this inquiry.

The Congressional Committee uncovered an almost unbelievable combination of "shameless corruption, tolerance of vice and crime, maladministration, and debauchery of the Courts." The Lowden Committee, quoting the report of the Congressional Investigation Committee, states, "The report says that East St. Louis for many years was a black spot, harboring within its borders 'every offense in the calendar of crime' and committing openly 'every lapse in morals and public decency.' Politicians looted its treasury, gave away valuable franchises, and elected plunderers to high office. Graft, collusion with crime and vice, and desecration of office were openly and deliberately practiced. Criminals were attracted and welcomed, and the good people of the community were powerless. . . . The Mayor . . . was a tool of dishonest politicians, the electorate was 'debauched,' the police were a conscienceless bunch of grafters and the revenue of the city was largely derived from saloons and dens of vice."

Press treatment of the East St. Louis riot, as contrasted with that of the Springfield, Illinois, riot of 1908, was exceptionally temperate.

III.

Chicago, 1919

Between July 27 and August 2, 1919, thirty-eight persons were killed, 537 injured, and about 1000 rendered homeless and destitute as a result of a race riot which broke out in Chicago on Sunday afternoon and swept intermittently through the south and west sides of the city for four days. The riot was brought under control around August 2, and on August 8 the State Militia was withdrawn.

The Lowden Commission has written a detailed account of the riot and it is strongly recommended that the Lowden Report be thoroughly examined by the Inter-racial Commission. It is contained in a volume published by the University of Chicago Press, in 1922, entitled "The Negro in Chicago—A Study of Race Relations and a Race Riot," by the Chicago Commission on Race Relations. It has been reprinted by the Cambridge University Press of London; the Maruzen-Kabuskiki-Kaisha, of Tokyo, Osaka, Kyoto, Fukoka, and Sendai; and by the Mission Book Company of Shanghai.

Background of the Chicago Riot

Between 1910 and 1920, the Negro population in Chicago increased from 44,103 to 109,594, or over 148%. Most of the increase was between 1916-19 and was principally caused by the widening industrial opportunities for southern colored workers occasioned by the outbreak of the war. While this influx did not result in industrial disturbances of any serious character, as it did in East St. Louis, considerable friction developed with respect to housing. There had been practically no building construction in the city because of the material shortages occasioned by the war, and it was a physical impossibility for the increased Negro population to live in the space occupied in 1915. The expansion of Negroes into adjoining communities resulted in a development of a tense and highly inflammable situation. Feeling ran so strong that, in "invaded" neighborhoods, bombs were thrown at the houses of Negroes who had moved in and at the houses and offices of real estate men,

white and colored, who had rented to the Negroes. During the twenty-seven days preceding the riot, twenty-four such bombs had been thrown. The police made no arrests and, according to the Lowden Report, "were accused of making little effort to do so." On several occasions before the riot, there had been intermittent racial clashes and on these occasions, several hundred extra policemen were sent into the territory where trouble seemed imminent.

On the night of June 21, 1919, five weeks before the riot, two Negroes were murdered by a gang of young hoodlums, and on each occasion, the victim was alone and the violence was unprovoked. Molestation of Negroes by hoodlums had been prevalent in the vicinity of parks and playgrounds and at bathing beaches, but serious trouble did not occur until the clash at the 29th Street beach on Sunday afternoon, July 27.

It is suggested that another element which aggravated the situation was the affiliation of Negro politicians with Mayor Thompson's faction of the Republican Party. Negro aldermen, elected from the wards involved in the riot, were prominent in the activities of this faction and, in one of the leading colored wards, succeeded in giving Mayor Thompson in the Republican Primary Election on February 5, 1919, 12,143 votes, while his two opponents, Wilson and Merriam, received only 1492 and 319, respectively. Mayor Thompson was re-elected on April 1, 1919, by a plurality of 21,622 and a total city vote of 698,920. His vote in the same ward was 15,569 to his nearest opponent's 3323 and was, therefore, almost large enough to control the election. The bitterness of this factional struggle aroused resentment against the race that had so conspicuously allied itself with the Thompson side.

Outbreak of the Riot

The beach at 29th Street was not publicly maintained and supervised for bathing, but it was very populated during the hot summer months. It flanked an area thickly settled by Negroes, and it was approached over railroad tracks close to the Lake shore. The 27th Street portion of the beach, by mutual understanding, was considered as reserved for Negroes, while the 29th Street area was used by whites.

At four o'clock Sunday afternoon, Eugene Williams, 17-year-old Negro boy, was swimming in the water at the foot of 29th Street. He had entered the water near the 27th Street district, but had swum or drifted to the part used by the whites. The Lowden Report describes the succeeding events as follows:

"Immediately before (Williams') appearance (at the beach), white men, women, and children had been bathing in the vicinity and were on the beach in considerable numbers. Four Negroes walked through the group and into the water. White men summarily ordered them off. The Negroes left, and the white people resumed their sport. But it was not long before the Negroes were back, coming from the north with others of their race. Then began a series of attacks and retreats, counterattacks, and stone-throwing. Women and children who could not escape hid behind debris and rocks. The stone-throwing continued, first one side gaining the advantage, then the other.

"Williams, who had remained in the water during the fracas, found a railroad tie and clung to it, stones meanwhile frequently striking the water near him. A white boy of about the same age swam toward him. As the white boy neared, Williams let go of the tie, took a few strokes and went down. The coroner's jury rendered a verdict that he had drowned because fear of stone-throwing kept him from shore. His body showed no stone bruises, but rumor had it that he had actually been hit by one of the stones and drowned as a result.

"On shore guilt was immediately placed upon a certain white man by several Negro witnesses who demanded that he be arrested by a white policeman who was on the spot. No arrest was made.

"The tragedy was sensed by the battling crowd and, awed by it, they gathered on the beach. For an hour both whites and Negroes dived for the boy without results. Awe gave way to excited whispers. 'They' said he was stoned to death. The report circulated through the crowd that the police officer had refused to arrest the murderer. The Negroes in the crowd began to mass dangerously. At this crucial point the accused policeman arrested a Negro on a white man's complaint. Negroes mobbed the white officer, and the riot was under way."

Two hours elapsed after the drowning of Williams before any further fatalities occurred. Reports of the incident at the beach spread out into the neighborhood, and Negroes gathered at the foot of 29th Street. The crowd became more excited and one of them, James Crawford, fired into a group of officers and was himself shot and killed by a Negro policeman who had been sent to help restore order.

Rioting started in several sections of the city and continued throughout the night all over the south side. Negroes who were found in street cars were dragged to the street and beaten. They were first ordered to the street by white men and, if they refused, the trolley was jerked off the wires. The Chicago Tribune of July 28 reports that "scores of conflicts between whites and blacks were reported at south side stations, and reserves were ordered to stand guard on all street corners. Some of the fighting took place four miles from the scene of the afternoon riots."

As white gangsters, farther to the west, became active, Negroes in white districts suffered severely at their hands. From 9 p.m. until 3 a.m., twenty-seven Negroes were beaten, seven were stabbed, and four were shot.

The city was relatively quiet during Monday morning and afternoon. As evening approached, however, white men and boys, living between the Stock Yards and the "black belt," sought malicious amusement directing mob violence against Negro workers returning home.

Street car routes, especially transfer points, were thronged with white people of all ages. Trolleys were pulled from wires and the cars brought under the control of mob leaders. Colored passengers were dragged into the street, beaten, kicked, and shot. Four Negro men and one white assailant were killed and thirty Negro men were severely beaten in the street car clashes.

It is not known whether there was any relationship between the use of violence at street car points and the impending street car strike, but it is fair to assume that many Negroes paid for the agitation which had been built up for some time against the street car company. Street car clashes ended at midnight Monday by reason of a general strike on the surface and elevated lines. The tie-up was complete for the remainder of the week. All of Chicago walked to work the next day, and this became a new source

of terror for many Negroes, some of whom were killed en route to their work through hostile territory. A white gang of soldiers and sailors in uniforms, augmented by civilians, raided the Loop early Tuesday, killing two Negroes and robbing and beating several others.

The Daily News, in a special bulletin published on the front page of its July 28 issue, stated: "Three hundred Negroes were reported at a late hour this afternoon to have congregated at State and 35th Streets. Many of them are armed." On the following day, it reported a revolt of 150 Negro prisoners in the County jail on Dearborn Street near Austin Avenue: "The rebellious Negroes were finally quelled by a force of 200 policemen, guards, deputies, and detectives who, swinging clubs and blackjacks, rounded up the prisoners . . . and finally induced them to go into their cells." One Negro and six white persons were reported injured.

On Wednesday night and Thursday, rainfall drove idle people of both races into their homes. The temperature fell, and with it, the white heat of the riot. From this time forward the riot was well under control, although, on Saturday, incendiary fires burned forty-nine houses in the neighborhood west of the Stock Yards. Nine hundred forty-eight people, mostly immigrant Lithuanians, were made homeless and property loss was fixed at $250,000.

An interesting commentary on the Chicago Riot was that it broke out at a time when the entire city was perturbed by two other situations. One was the confession of a murderer, Thomas Richard Fitzgerald, who confessed to killing Janet Wilkinson, a grade-school girl, and received more attention in the press during the first two days of the riot than did the riot itself. The second was the threatened streetcar strike which eventually erupted during the progress of the riot. It is instructive to reflect, twenty-four years later, on the character of the journalism which was unable to determine for four or five days which of these three events was of the greatest significance.

Analysis

This report has not attempted to discuss a variety of lesser outbreaks which occurred incidental to the Chicago and East St. Louis riots nor to discuss other racial disturb-

ances which occurred in Washington, Omaha, and in the rural districts of Arkansas at approximately the same time as the riot in Chicago.

The running story of the three major Illinois riots reveals that in no two instances were the immediate causes of racial strife more than superficially similar. The riot in Springfield was totally inexcusable. The riots in Chicago and East St. Louis, while they can under no circumstances be condoned, are at least traceable to understandable social phenomena.

The Springfield riot can be attributed to three primary reasons: (1) Irresponsible incitement to riot by the press and by the hoodlum element of the town; (2) boredom on the part of the inhabitants and an irresistable urge to create an emotionally exciting situation; and (3) racial intolerance.

In East St. Louis, the basic reasons for the riot were: (1) intolerable housing conditions for white workers, resulting from the influx of Negroes from the South; (2) Union resentment against Negroes for allegedly acting as strike-breakers and for increasing the labor force, thus lowering the bargaining power of white workers; (3) encouragement and incitement to riot by the troops and police who were supposed to maintain order; (4) war hysteria which created a psychological atmosphere favorable to murder and brutality; (5) local political corruption; and (6) racial intolerance.

The causes of the Chicago riots were: (1) housing frictions, resulting when Negroes attempted to expand outside the boundaries of the so-called "black belt"; (2) recreational difficulties, particularly with respect to use of beaches; (3) a spilling-over into the postwar period of the war hysteria which had been abruptly ended by the Armistice of November 11, 1918; (4) political resentment against Negroes for having swung the recent mayoral campaign in favor of Mayor Thompson; (5) police inefficiency and favoritism; and (6) racial intolerance.

This summary of basic causes is not encouraging because a number of the factors present during the East St. Louis and Chicago riots are present today. Racial intolerance is one factor which has remained constant; housing difficulties are becoming daily more aggravated; and the war may be

expected to create the type of receptiveness to mob hysteria which may easily flare into open violence. This conclusion is supported by the fact that in many areas such outbreaks have already occurred; and the fact that there have been no recent recurrences of race difficulties, rather than being an encouraging sign, simply follows the patterns we have already uncovered in previous riots. The tendency seems to be for sporadic outbreaks to be followed by periods of quiet and then succeeded by periods of further aggression.

This memorandum simply presents a factual survey of conditions prevailing during previous riots. No recommendations are being included because it is strongly felt that recommendations on this subject should emanate from the full Commission. However, attention is respectfully directed to the recommendations incorporated in Research Memorandum No. 1, "Specific Methods for Promoting Good Will Among Racial Groups in Illinois."

OUTLINE OF RACE RIOTS AND INTER-RACIAL VIOLENCE IN CHICAGO.

Outline of Race Riots

The continuing growth of Chicago's Negro population during and since World War II has been marked by a heightening of racial tensions which have upon frequent occasion erupted into violence. These disturbances have occurred principally around housing situations. The pressure for more adequate living accommodations from the Negro community which saw a ten-year increase of upward of 40% from a 1940 figure of 270,000 to 450,000 coupled with ever-growing economic ability to purchase and maintain property by more and more Negroes was met by resistance in many adjacent white communities. Agitation and organization in these communities to maintain the existing pattern of segregation focused the fears of resident property owners and resulted inevitably in the outbreak of violence of both the hit-and-run sneak attack variety and the even more volatile crowd and mob demonstrations.

The following table records hit-and-run attacks occurring in Chicago surrounding the movement (either actual,

potential or rumored) of non-white families into these communities:

	1948	1949	1950	1951
Bombings	2	0	0	2
Arson	15	8	11	4
Attempted Arson	15	8	3	3
Stonings	35	24	18	22
Malicious Mischief	11	16	9	11
Total attacks against property	78	56	41	42

In those areas of the city where resistance has been extremely high (such as in the Park Manor community) each new movement during the initial period of transition has been under 24-hour police protection until such time as the danger has passed. Some homes have had police details for as long as two years.

On the other hand, it should be clearly understood that the overwhelming majority of non-white families (the Chicago Commission on Human Relations estimates some 20,000 family units in the last five years) have moved out of the established Negro community without incident of any sort.

The pattern has varied from community to community with population shifts in some neighborhoods taking place with no resistance all the way to the other extreme where vioence has occurred almost on a house-by-house basis.

There is attached hereto the record of such attacks as they have occurred in the community that has seen the greatest violence and agitation against the movement of Negro families. (See Appendix I.)

It has been the gathering of crowds demonstrating against the presence of Negroes that has created the most serious situations of racially inspired disorder in Chicago.

The following are summaries of events surrounding several of these major incidents taken from documentary material supplied by the Chicago Commission on Human Relations, an agency established under authority of an ordinance passed by the City Council of Chicago:

7200 South Eberhart, 1946

The first major crowd demonstration of the post war period occurred with the purchase and occupancy of the premises at the above address by a Negro doctor. On the night of June 30, 1946 arson was attempted on the garage at the rear of the home. The following evening the Park Manor Improvement Association, a local property owner's organization, held a meeting at a local church protesting the purchase and occupancy of this property by Negroes. On that same night approximately 2,000 people gathered in the streets surrounding this house. Missiles were thrown and windows were broken. As the crowd gathered the local Captain of Police called for reinforcements and 25 patrol cars were sent to guard the property and maintain the peace.

On the night of July 2, a similar gathering occurred. The crowd was very hostile, highly emotional and called for violent action. Vicious epithets were hurled at police who were present in large numbers and who firmly and quietly stood their ground. The Negro doctor did not appear in the community. This fact was judged by all officials as the only reason this situation did not break into dangerous violence. After a considerable period the police slowly pressed the crowd back at least two blocks, closed the area to foot and automobile traffic, and maintained control of the situation. One teen-age youth was arrested for throwing rocks and was later released to his parents after being severely reprimanded by the Juvenile Officer.

After the July 1 demonstration the doctor and his wife left the community and by July 3 had decided not to return although the local police captain had promised them continuous police protection. The property was subsequently sold by the doctor.

The Airport Home Disturbances, 1946

Airport Homes, a Veterans Emergency Public Housing Project on Chicago's far southwest side, was opened for occupancy in fall of 1946. By the end of October all but 59 of the 186 apartments had been occupied by legally selected tenants. During October a number of windows were smashed in the unfinished units of the project. Selection of tenants for the remaining apartments had been com-

pleted by the Chicago Housing Authority. Several Negro veterans were among these selectees scheduled to move in during the weeks of November 11 and 18.

At the end of October there was considerable tension in the community and petitions had been circulated and presented to the Housing Authority requesting that the apartments in the project be reserved for veterans living in the immediate neighborhood.

On Election Day, November 5, "squatter" families, all of whom were white, took over most of the remaining units. The "squatters" had taken all of the keys to the available apartments from the office of the project manager on the evening of November 4. Mixed reasons were given for this unauthorized move-in action, but it was verified that several of the "squatters" understood the move-in was to be, in part, an attempt to occupy available space so that Negroes could not move in.

The first Negro veteran, Mr. Theodore Turner and his family, was assigned to move in on November 16. Several meetings were reported to have occurred in the community on the night before the move-in. The gatherings were largely protest meetings against the Negro family moving in.

On the afternoon of Saturday the 16th, Mr. Turner's arrival at the project was the signal for the gathering of a hostile crowd. A car occupied by a Housing Authority official was tipped over by the crowd. An attempt was made to attack Mr. Turner as he was escorted from the project by police.

An automobile containing several Negro and white veterans who had come to the scene was also attacked as it was escorted from the area.

The crowd continued to grow in size and intensity. One of the leaders of the "squatter" movement attempted to talk to the crowd to the effect that all veterans regardless of race had a right to move into the project. The crowd shouted for action and howled down his pleas. Police reinforcements were called for. A violent rain dispersed most of the gathering.

The following day Mr. Turner informed the Authority that he had decided not to attempt to move into the project.

Over the weekend people from the community continued to stand around the apartment which had been rented to Turner. Bonfires were lit on various street corners in the immediate area of the project. On Sunday night an anti-Semitic demonstration occurred in front of the apartment of the acting temporary chairman of the proposed tenants council which had been friendly to Mr. Turner.

Most of the "squatters" moved out on December 2 on advice of counsel and white families began moving in on the morning of December 4. A crowd of some 200 persons which had gathered kept up a constant booing and shouting. Two Negro veterans arrived at noon. The crowd immediately ran toward the truck and the police formed to protect it. As it was driven into the project, stones, clods of earth and sticks were hurled at the vehicle and the police. As the crowd rushed toward the project with all available police reserve rushed to the point of entry to hold a perimeter. Women in the front ranks began to scratch, kick and slap police officers and those in the rear threw missiles at police and representatives of the press. A police lieutenant was struck in the temple by a rock and the captain severely kicked in the leg. This pattern continued throughout the day and evening with continuing attempts to break through the line and police efforts to hold the crowd back. A car containing a representative of a Negro veterans organization was tipped over.

The following evening violence flared again as reinforced police attempted to keep the crowd across the street from the project. Attempts to tip over a squad car were stopped by police using clubs. Six civilians were hospitalized and two patrolmen were given first aid. A cross was set afire in a nearby vacant lot.

Crowds gathered in the vicinity of the project for the next several days with sporadic violence occurring. Intensification of police activity gradually brought the situation under control.

(NOTE: The two Negro families stayed in the project until February, 1947. They moved shortly after shots were fired through the windows and side walls.)

Fernwood Homes, 1947

Fernwood Homes, an 87-unit Temporary Veterans Public Housing Project located on the far south side, was to be occupied in August, 1947. The nondiscriminatory policy of the Chicago Housing Authority as it would apply to the Fernwood Project was the subject of bitter criticism in the local community. Rumors that violence would occur if Negroes moved into the project were rife throughout the community.

The first families began to move in early the morning of August 12 with a small police guard present. Groups of people began to gather around the project but none of the white or Negro tenants was molested in any way. The entire day and evening passed without any physical violence and what verbal antagonism existed was diverted toward a canteen that had been established by a "Community Good Will Council," which had been organized for the purpose of welcoming residents of the project.

All through the following day, August 13, police maintained controls of traffic in and out of the project. About 8 P. M. people began to gather around the project. The crowd milled around on the sidewalk for awhile but were prevented from coming into the project area. In an apparent effort to draw police away from the project, they moved onto Halsted Street, a heavily traveled main arterial north-south highway.

Additional police arrived and unsnarled traffic, and the crowd again surged toward the project, setting several fires in the prairie between the street and the project. Police forcibly pushed this movement back to the street, two lieutenants being struck by rocks during this process. The density of the mob made it difficult to identify individual rock-throwers.

At the same time a crowd of several hundred people gathered at the north end of the project. However, a cordon of police reinforced by several squad cars prevented their entrance.

The crowd on the Halsted side, frustrated in its attempt to reach the project surged north on Halsted Street and began stoning passing Negro motorists. To meet this situation police diverted north-south traffic over to Green Street,

a side street west of Halsted. The mob being dispersed on Halsted moved across the open prairie to Green and continued stoning Negro-occupied cars in the traffic jam which occurred.

This situation continued until 1:30 A. M. when most of the gathering had been dispersed.

Tensions were reported growing in the Negro community as smashed up cars returned from the Fernwood area.

The next two nights saw an intensification of the stoning of the project and the smashing of cars and beating of occupants. Several retaliatory attacks were reported having been committed by Negroes against white people passing. The breaking up of concentration of the crowd left roaming gangs assaulting any Negro who came into view over an area extending as far away as a mile in every direction from the project. Police communications were taxed to the breaking point with principal reporting of outbreaks dependent on motorcycle couriers. Upward of 1,000 police officers finally began bringing the situation under control by making 22 arrests on the 14th, and 99 on the night of the 15th.

No exact figures were available as to the number of persons injured. An approximation might be made from the fact that over 60 suits were filed against the City of Chicago for recovery of damages incurred during the rioting.

Eight Negro veterans and their families continued to reside in the project. The only other incident of note occurring since the time of the rioting being a dynamite blast set off in March of 1948, the principal damage being to a unit occupied by a white veteran. All police details have long since been removed and no incidents have occurred.

St. Lawrence Street Disturbance, 1949

On July 25 during late afternoon, Mr. and Mrs. Roscoe Johnson, Negroes, occupied the premises they had purchased at 7153 St. Lawrence. A crowd of people began to gather. Fire was set to two mattresses being unloaded from the truck. Police were called and a detail was left to guard the home. Toward evening the crowd grew larger and grew in hostility. Fire-brands, stones and bottles were thrown through the windows. Police reinforcements tried

to move the crowd from the front of the house out of throwing range. By 1:30 A. M. this had been achieved.

During the following day about 200 people loitered around across the street from the home. By that evening police had established barricades against vehicular and pedestrian traffic for one full block in each direction from the home. Community residents and curiosity seekers began crowding up at the barricades. One group of teenagers began obstructing traffic. They carried a sign reading, "We don't want Niggers in our neighborhood." This sign was held in front of passing motorists who were asked if they agreed. As the driver would nod assent he would be permitted to continue on his way.

At this point vigorous police action to clear the area was taken. Although three cars containing Negroes were reported stoned as they drove along nearby 71st Street, the clearing of the crowd which consisted of some 1,500 persons brought the demonstration to an end.

Peoria Street Disturbances, 1949

Shortly after November 1, 1949, a piece of property several blocks away from 56th and Peoria Streets was purchased by a Negro. The purchaser reported that he had been asked to resell his property and was offered a substantial profit. When he refused the offer he was told that "the people in the community would never allow a Negro to occupy the premises and that the house would be burned to the ground." The rumor of this sale was circulated through the community during the weekend of November 5 and 6. Signs were distributed house to house reading, "This property is not for sale." (A police detail was placed at the above property, and the family subsequently moved in without incident.)

On the night of November 8, 1949, Mr. Aaron Bindman, white, Secretary-Treasurer of the Warehouse and Distribution Workers Union, had a gathering of 16 shop stewards of his union in his recently purchased home at 5643 S. Peoria Street. Eight of the guests were Negroes. During the course of the evening about 50 people gathered in front of the house protesting the presence of Negroes. Bindman reported being threatened by members of the group. Police

were called and escorted the guests out safely, leaving a police detail behind.

The following evening, November 9, a crowd of about 200 persons gathered in front of the house. Rocks were thrown and windows broken as the crowd applauded and cheered. Most of those gathered on the street appeared to believe that Negroes had either purchased or were occupying the house. Additional police pushed the crowd back out of throwing range.

By Tuesday night, November 10, the crowd which had grown to about 400 people was apparently more aware of the exact nature of the ownership and occupancy of the premises (partly accomplished through reports published in the press to dispel the rumors which had been circulating). About 8:30 P. M. the crowd moved menacingly toward the home shouting, "Let's get them out," "burn the house," "dirty kikes," "Communists." Police held the line while a barrage of rocks flew overhead and broke more windows. Police reinforcements moved the gathering back out of throwing range.

A different type of activity developed when groups of young men, 19-25, apparently well known by most of those present, began to move around the periphery of the crowd. Also present were smaller groups of young men who looked like students. (The University of Chicago lies two miles directly east of 56th and Peoria.) The groups of "local" youths began to spot these "strangers" and ask for identification. Unsatisfactory explanations of "outsiders" resulted in assaults. Ten arrests were made.

The night of Friday, November 11, marked the peak of the violence. Police had thrown up barricades for a block in each direction. Around 7:30 P. M. groups began to gather on the periphery of the blockaded area as well as within the bockade near the house. Upwards of 2,000 people moved about in the area. The pattern of the roving gang and subsequent assaults became more widespread. These were principally directed at youths with Semitic-looking features. (Several non-Jews reported being assaulted in the area to the accompaniment of anti-Semitic verbal abuse.) Several police officers were hurt in these individual fracases. This activity spread over to Halsted Street as victims were chased by these gangs. A jeep was overturned on Halsted

Street. Over 200 police were brought in the area. All bars were ordered closed. Twenty-seven arrests were made.

It was about 3 A. M. before some degree of order was restored.

On Saturday night, an overwhelming police concentration was sent into the area. Orders were to prevent any gathering. Police encountered some difficulty at several points and made 23 arrests during the course of the evening. Three Negro boys were assaulted as they attempted to board a streetcar at 55th and Halsted.

Several concentrations did occur, the most unruly being at 56th and Halsted where the crowd attempted to burn a figure in effigy. A tightening of police operations marked early Sunday morning as the time of the final suppression of violence.

(There was considerable criticism of police laxity in the handling of this incident in the daily press. It was pointed out that many of those arrested were the "victims" rather than "attackers." There was also considerable controversy because of the alleged political affiliations of Bindman, and the "outsiders" who came into the area. The most constructive step growing out of this disturbance was the beginning of a police training program in Human Relations.)

INCIDENTS OF ANTI-NEGRO ATTACKS IN PARK MANOR COMMUNITY.

1945-1950

The following incidents occurred in a square-mile area on Chicago's South Side. This area represented the highest point of resistance to the movement of Negro families:

1945

6715 South Michigan — **June 6**

Property stoned, windows broken while a group of Negro men were unloading a moving van. Building later set on fire causing considerable damage.

6743 South Wabash June 23

Negro family moved in. Windows broken. Approximately 200 people gathered on the street, remaining from 8:30 P. M. to 1:30 A. M., shouting "burn them out." Bottle of inflammable liquid thrown into house. Back porch set afire while police on guard. Second attack occurred within one week.

1946

7300 South Eberhart June 30

Garage set afire when Dr. Cooper purchased this property. Park Manor Improvement Association held a meeting at a local church protesting the purchase and occupancy of this property by Negroes. On the same night about 2,000 people gathered in the streets surrounding the house. Missiles were thrown and windows broken. Garage set afire. Twenty-five patrol cars sent to maintain order. On July 2, a similar crowd gathered. One teen-age youth arrested for throwing rocks.

1947

6841 South Wabash May 5, June 5

Thirteen windows broken prior to move-in of Negro family. Several weeks later, crowd gathered. Stones, bolts and bricks hurled at building. False fire alarm turned in. Gasoline thrown on rear fence but not ignited. Two adults and one juvenile arrested. Permanent police detail established.

August 16

Inflammable liquid thrown into house during crowd demonstration in spite of presence of police guard.

September 6

Car of three Negro friends visiting the Millers was stoned.

6800 Block on Wabash

Negro woman accosted on street by white man who shouted "We don't want any 'niggers' around here, get off

the street. This is a warning to you." Warrant sworn and defendant put on peace bond.

6710 South Wabash Avenue — October 15

Crowd gathered when it was learned Negro family was to move in. False fire alarm turned in. Prompt police action dispersed crowd. Police guard established.

3849 South State Street — October 31

Reported on October 30 that Negroes were to move in. Rear porch set afire by unknown persons on night of October 31. Police guard established.

6715 South Indiana Avenue — November 26

Shotgun blast fired through windows of apartment shortly before Negro family moved in. Police guard established.

1948

6817 South Calumet — February 21

Crowd of 125 people gathered the night after Negro family moved in. Teen-agers ran around back and threw firebrands, two Molotov cocktails, and a fused missile of fine 12-gauge shotgun shells at building and through window. Crowd in front of building smashed windows. Two-men police detail had to send for reinforcements which finally dispersed crowd. Police detail still assigned to building.

6837 South Wabash — May 22

Suspicious fire day after Negroes seen looking at building.

6823 South Calumet — May 19

Kerosene poured on rear porch, failed to ignite. Two rear windows broken.

Fire set on back porch. — August 18

Fire set on back porch. — September 4

Fire set on back porch. — December 4

6810 South Parkway — July 9, 10

Two windows broken before Negro family moved in.

Fire set. — August 1

$200 damage from fire set. — August 23

Window broken. — August 25

Small fire, nominal damage. — September 6

September 13

Two bottles of inflammable fluid found in rear.

September 15

Molotov cocktail touched off near owner's car.

Garage set afire. — November 9

Fire under rear steps. — December 3

6970 S. Anthony — Aug. 15

White women received threatening phone calls.

$6000 damage from fire set. — Aug. 20

6740 S. Wabash — Aug. 4

Fire set—building in process of sale.

6748 Prairie — Aug. 9

Crowd gathered after building shown to Negroes.

22-36 E. 70th St. — Sept. 11

Windows broken.

6855 Anthony — Sept. 8

Car stoned by white boys as Negro family was moving in.

6820 S. Calumet — Oct. 27

Fire set destroying rear porch and kitchen.

6810 S. Indiana — Oct. 9

Fire set under rear stairs.

6816 S. Calumet — Dec. 4

Fire set in yard. No damage.

6838 Prairie — Sept. 25

Windows broken after purchase by Negroes.
Windows broken again.

6816 S. Indiana — Sept. 25

Negro assaulted in front of above address while making neighborhood canvass for real estate agency.

1949

6927 S. Prairie — Feb. 6

Rear window broken.

7047 S. Indiana — Mar. 24

Window broken, garbage containers scattered.

6936 S. Park — Mar. 25

Rear porch set fire.

215 E. 70th St. — Apr. 13

Windows broken.

6840 S. Calumet — Apr. 21

Automobile set afire.

6810 S. Park — May 6

False fire alarm turned in.

7047 S. Indiana — May 8

Windows broken.
Windows broken. — May 27

6855 Anthony and 6902 Anthony — May 13

6855 Anthony—Attempted arson (one apprehension).
6902 Anthony—Arson (no conviction).

7116 Eberhart — **May 31**

Crowd demonstration and bricks thrown at property owned and occupied by white while premises were being shown to prospective Negro purchasers.

215 E. 70th Street — **June 3**

Brick thrown through windows.

7137 S. Prairie — **June 7**

White occupancy—property shown to Negroes—window broken.

7047 S. Indiana — **June 9**

Window broken.

7023 S. Vernon — **June 14**

Bricks thrown at house and garage.

6958 S. Prairie — **June 15**

Fire destroyed rear porch.

7044 S. Vernon — **June 11**

Two windows broken.

7044 S. Vernon — **June 14**

Eight windows broken.

6920 S. Parkway — **June 15**

Bottle thrown.

6958 S. Prairie — **June 25**

Street fight.

6800 block on Wabash — **June 25**

Negro assaulted.

6958 S. Prairie — June 25

Altercation between Negro owner of building and white passerby.

6916 S. Wabash — June 25

Negro guests assaulted on street.

7153 St. Lawrence — July 25

Major disturbance when first Negro family moved south of 71st St. (See separate documentary.)

318 E. 70th St. — June 25

Window broken.

6841 S. Wabash — June 25

Light bulbs filled with paint smashed on building.

6758 S. Calumet — July 2

Paint splattered on building.

6951 S. Vernon — July 15

Windows broken.

73 E. Marquette Road — July 19

Small fire set.

6946 S. Anthony — July 19

Arson. Vacant building had been shown to Negroes.

7023 S. Vernon — Aug. 23

Garage set afire.

7000 S. Vernon — Aug. 23

Kerosene bottle with matches attached thrown at building recently purchased by Negroes.

6951 S. Vernon — Aug. 23

B B shots fired through window.

7047 S. Indiana — Sept. 27

Shot fired through window of new Negro owner.

7029-31 S. Prairie — Sept. 29

Windows broken, paint splattered on building.

6824 S. Anthony — Sept. 26

Paint splattered on building advertised for sale "to colored".

7029-31 S. Prairie — Oct. 3

Windows broken in building offered for sale.

359 E. 70th St. — Oct. 26

Five B B shots through windows.

215 E. 70th St. — Dec. 9

Windows broken.

6961 S. Eberhart — Dec. 9

Fire set in hallway.

7043 S. Indiana — Oct. 6

Brick thrown through window.

1950

6927 S. Prairie — Feb. 1

Arson—garbage covered with oil—set afire.

358 E. 70th St. — Feb. 1

Garbage can set under back porch and ignited.

6838 S. Anthony — Feb. 4

Garbage set under porch and ignited.

6950 S. Park — Feb. 4

Back porch set afire.

6841 S. Wabash — Feb. 4

Paper on back porch ignited.

6909 S. Calumet — Apr. 21

Fire set.

6927 S. Calumet — Apr. 21.

Fire set in vacant building reported for sale.

7153 St. Lawrence — May 13

Fire set to garage.

7142 Rhodes — June 28

Crowd gathered as prospective Negro purchasers inspected building. Windows broken in rear garage.

7053 Eberhart — June 23

Crowd gathered as building was being inspected by prospective Negro purchasers. Almost every window in house broken as they left.

7011 S. Eberhart — June 27

Attempted arson.

7153 St. Lawrence — Aug. 11, 13 and 16

7151 St. Lawrence

7224 St. Lawrence

These incidents of crowd demonstrations are described in separate documentary.

7308 S. Wabash — Aug. 25
Window broken.

7200 S. Park — July 14
Window broken.

7041 St. Lawrence — Oct. 5
3 windows broken.

24 E. 70th Place — Oct. 30
Windows broken.

7348 S. Vernon — Nov. 19
Paint smeared on building.

7254 Eberhart — Nov. 28
Windows broken and paint smeared in hallway.

7053 S. Eberhart — Nov. 14
Five windows broken.

OUTLINE OF LABOR VIOLENCE IN ILLINOIS.

A. Building Trades.

1899. The building contractors of Chicago formed a new organization with the intention of forcing the unions to sign at terms more agreeable to the contractors, even though this might mean breaking existing contracts. In February, about 26,000 building tradesmen struck. During March, the contractors decided to resume operations with nonunion labor. Clashes resulted, between pickets and strikebreakers. The homes of strikebreakers were picketed, and many were assaulted.

Beginning in June, the unions started to withdraw from the strike and sign on the contractors' terms. In February 1901, the carpenters capitulated and thereafter the re-

maining unions fell into line. During the strike more than 150 assaults occurred, and 5 were killed.

(Perlman and Taft: History of Labor in the United States, pp. 86-87.)

1921: On September 21, Federal Judge Kenesaw M. Landis handed down an arbitration award in the building industry that disrupted the Chicago area for months. In addition to passing judgment on certain work rules of the building trades unions, which was contrary to usual practice, the award set some rates below those offered by the contractors. The building trades unions were divided among themselves as to whether or not to accept the decision, and the carpenters led a revolt against the award.

The Citizens' Committee to Enforce the Landis Award was organized by the Illinois Manufacturers' Association and similar groups. It raised a large sum of money to import strikebreakers and furnish protection to open-shop jobs. The intimidation by the Citizens' Committee was paralleled by the bombing of jobs working under Landis Award conditions, with several fatalities.

(Perlman and Taft: History of Labor in the United States.)

B. Men's Clothing Industry.

1904. In November occurred a strike of the United Garment Workers of America in the special order branch of the clothing industry. The employers were determined to drive the unions from the shops, and establish an open-shop. About 8,000 men and women were involved in the strike. It lasted nearly a year, with occasional violence.

(10th Annual Report of the State Board of Arbitration of Illinois.)

1910. In September, approximately 40,000 workers, largely unorganized, went on strike under the leadership of the United Garment Workers. In December, two pickets were shot and killed. There were continuous assaults on the picket lines by police and private detectives protecting nonstrikers. In all, during the strike, 875 were arrested, and seven were killed.

(Chicago Joint Board, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.)

1915. A strike was called to organize the unorganized shops. About 25,000 garment workers participated. In one riot, one striker was shot and killed, and a large number of others were wounded.

1919. During the year, there was a series of strikes as part of an organizing drive. There were constant fights and assaults.

C. Meat Packing.

1904. This year saw two strikes in the Chicago meat packing industry. In the first, as part of a nationwide strike, about 20,000 workers walked out. During July 14-15, in a clash between strikers and nonunion men, eight people were killed.

The strike was won in eight days. One of the conditions under which the workers went back was that all strikers would be rehired within 45 days. The rank and file of the union in Chicago soon came to the conclusion that the companies were not living up to their agreements, and despite the reluctance of the union leadership, went out on strike again. The companies reacted swiftly, and 1,400 strikebreakers, mainly Negroes, were brought in from the South. During August, a serious string of riots broke out, some racial in character. The police fired into crowds and used their clubs freely, with the result that some workers were killed, and others injured.

(Perlman and Taft: History of Labor in the United States.)

1921. The Big Five Packers, acting in concert, lowered their wages and began setting up company unions as part of the open-shop movement that was sweeping the country. A series of strikes was provoked by this activity. Negro strikebreakers were imported and this led to race riots in the stockyards districts. Eight union officials were killed during the strike.

(Lewis Corey: Meat and Man. Edwin E. Witte: Industrial Relations in Meat Packing. Cayton and Mitchell: Black Workers and the New Unions.)

D. Mining.

1898. The miners at Pana and Virden went on strike, or rather, were locked out. On April 1, 1897, mine operators of the Chicago and Alton subdistrict ceased production on the grounds that the wage rates set for that area were too high.

At Pana, the miners agreed to take a reduction suggested by the State Board of Arbitrators. The operators ignored the findings. Negro miners were imported, and this eventually lead to violence.

At Virden, locked-out miners remained orderly until October, when an attempt was made to bring in Negro miners from Alabama under armed guards. On October 12, there was a clash between the union miners and the guards. Sixteen men were killed and several wounded.

(4th Annual Report of the State Board of Arbitration of Illinois.)

The so-called Tanner Act was an outcome of this clash. Governor Tanner believed that the importation of strike-breakers guarded by armed men not citizens of Illinois and who were not authorized to perform police duty in the state was contrary to good public policy and unfair to workers. The Tanner Act, passed in 1899, prohibited employers from inducing workmen to go from one place to another within the state or from bringing workmen into the state through the use of false representations concerning the kind of work and the conditions under which it was to be performed.

(Eugene Staley: History of the Illinois Federation of Labor.)

1907. On November 19, about 400 quarry workers around Joliet struck after receiving a wage reduction. On November 22, 500 members of the Quarrymen's Union and nonunion employes of the Western Stone Co., met in Joliet and a riot ensued, with gunfire and clubbing on both sides. Many people were injured.

(11th Annual Report of the State Board of Arbitration of Illinois, 1908.)

1910. On April 1, about 72,000 members of the United Mine Workers of America went on strike, and about 2/3

of them remained out for 23 weeks. The strike was accompanied by intermittent violence.

(12th Annual Report of the State Board of Arbitration of Illinois, 1910.)

1916. On June 3, Florspar miners in Hardin county went on strike. The sheriff swore in as deputies to maintain order, men whose salaries were paid by the companies. Clashes between strikers and these deputies resulted in two men being seriously injured. In addition, about 100 families were forced to leave their homes by thugs employed by the companies.

(Annual Report of the State Board of Arbitration of Illinois, 1917.)

1920. A strike of spar miners began on September 21, at Rosiclare. Although the strikers were advised by the state mediators to return to work, they voted to continue the strike. On March 1, 1921, mediators were informed that shooting and mob violence had occurred. Investigations were carried out with county and city authorities without obtaining any definite evidence as to the guilty parties.

(4th Annual Report, Illinois Department of Labor, 1920-21.)

1922. This was a year of widespread strikes in both the anthracite and bituminous coal fields.

On June 21, the Southern Illinois Coal Co. began to load and ship coal for commercial purposes, contrary to a previous agreement with the union. To do this they employed men from another union. A group of miners attempted to confer with the men who were working, but were greeted by machine gun fire that killed two of them.

"The arrival from Chicago of a band of Hargreaves Secret-Service operatives to guard the steam shovel men led to the opening of hostilities on the strikers' side, resulting in the wounding of three guards. . . . Crowds gathered in West Frankfort, Herrin and neighboring towns, possessed themselves of arms, and began moving to the Illinois Coal Company's mine surrounded by a stockade. The guards opened fire. The miners returned it and firing became general. . . . An armistice was agreed upon and the besieged surrendered. So strong, however, were the

aroused passions that a number of the disarmed captives were butchered. Altogether nineteen strikebreakers and two strikers were killed."

(Perlman and Taft: History of Labor in the United States, pp. 483-84.)

1932. As the result of an agreement signed by union officials and mine owners of Illinois without the consent of the miners, a revolt against both the District and International officers swept the state. The insurgents, numbering about 20,000, attempted to gain control of various mines, and this led to clashes between themselves and other miners, as well as with the police.

On September 1, the Progressive Miners of America was formed in Illinois and Indiana, as an outgrowth of the above revolt. This led in turn to a long series of bloody and fatal clashes between the new organization and the United Mine Workers of America.

E. Railways.

1877. This year witnessed a strike, or what might more accurately be called a rebellion on the railroads of the United States. It started in West Virginia on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. In less than four days the strike was effective in eleven states including Illinois. The strike began as a protest against lowered wages and spread so rapidly because most railroad workers had grievances of some kind.

The strike was accompanied by rioting and burning of railroad property. Though the center of the strike was in Pittsburgh and Philadelphia, Illinois, and particularly Chicago, had its share of the violence. There were continuous clashes between the police and mobs. Federal troops were requested by the Governor of Illinois, and were dispatched.

(Edward Winslow Martin: The History of the Great Riots. Ohio D. Boyle: History of the Railroad Strikes.)

1894. The strike of the American Railway Union against the Pullman Co. is well known in American labor history. It began on May 11 as a strike in the Pullman plant, but

on June 26 spread to become a boycott by all railway workers of Pullman cars wherever they were to be found. The strike ended in a conclusive defeat for the union in July. In addition to the violence displayed, this strike is significant for the widespread use of the injunction.

The strike was characterized by a great deal of violence. During the strike, the fatalities, arrests, indictments and dismissal of charges for strike offenses in Chicago and vicinity were as follows:

Shot and fatally wounded	12
Arrested	515
Arrested under United States statutes and against whom indictments were found	71
Arrested against whom indictments were not found	119

Arrests were for murder, arson, burglary, assault, intimidation, riot, inciting to riot, etc.

(United States Strike Commission: Report of the Chicago Strike of June-July, 1894.)

One outcome of the strike was the legal action taken against the company owned town of Pullman. The Illinois Supreme Court upheld the contention that the company was not authorized to acquire large real estate holdings to establish and manage a town. This ruling resulted in the dissolution by the Pullman Co. of its holdings in the community.

(Almont Lindsay: The Pullman Strike. United States Commission on Industrial Relations: Final Report and Testimony.)

F. Steel.

1919. Under the direction of William Z. Foster, the various craft unions with jurisdiction in the steel industry, formed a loosely knit organization to spark an organizing drive. Workers in Pennsylvania, Ohio, West Virginia, Illinois and Indiana responded, and a strike was set for September 22. By October 1, 365,000 men were out. By the middle of January, however, the strike was broken, as a result both of the opposition of the industry, and the lack of coordination and cooperation among the craft unions.

Companies hired labor-detective agencies to stir up animosities between various nationality groups. Also, Negroes were imported from the South as strikebreakers, and the strike was accompanied by acts of violence. The strike was attended by a reign of terror affected by municipal police, deputy sheriffs and company police.

(J. Raymond Walsh: C.I.O.: Industrial Unionism in Action.) (Report, U. S. Senate: Investigation of Strike in Steel Industries.) (Commission of Inquiry, Interchurch World Movement: The Steel Strike of 1919.)

1937. On May 26, as part of the drive to organize the steel industry by the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee, the firms known as Little Steel were struck. Republic Steel in the Chicago area was one of these. On May 30, a parade of strikers, marching in front of the plant, were fired upon by police and guards. Ten were shot to death. At least eight others died as a result of this incident, known as the Memorial Day Massacre, and violence in subsequent months.

(Mary H. Vorse: Labor's New Millions. LaFollette Civil Liberties Committee: Hearings.)

G. Teamsters.

1902. On May 25, a strike of teamsters employed by the packing houses began. At the end of the first week, the packers determined to resume shipments. A caravan of meat wagons was formed and headed for the retail district under police guard.

". . . At this juncture the teamsters throughout the city came to the rescue of their striking brethren and blocked the passage of the meat wagons in every conceivable manner. Hundreds of wagons blockaded the streets at street intersections, street cars were stopped, meat wagons overturned and bricks, stones and all kinds of missiles were hurled at the drivers and at the police who were attempting to protect them.

"The riots were the most serious that had occurred in Chicago since the railway strike in 1894. Several hundreds of persons were injured during the riots, many being

clubbed by the police and several of them shot. It may be regarded as little short of miraculous that no persons were killed outright."

(7th Annual Report of the State Board of Arbitration of Illinois, 1902, pp. 46-47.)

1904. On April 6, the teamsters struck Montgomery Ward & Co. in sympathy with the United Garment Workers of America, who were out on strike. The strike eventually spread so that 5,000 teamsters in Chicago became involved. Violence began when Ward's attempted to start deliveries. Employers hired special deputies and private detectives to ride with the nonunion drivers. They also imported a large number of Negroes.

The strike lasted 110 days. Fourteen deaths are directly traceable to the strike, while hundreds were injured.

(10th Annual Report of the State Board of Arbitration of Illinois, 1905.)

H. Other Incidents.

1886. On May 3, a clash took place between police and workers at the McCormick Harvester Works in Chicago, growing out of the agitation for the eight hour day. Several were killed, and a score or so wounded.

A protest meeting was called for May 4 at Haymarket Square by the anarchist movement. The meeting was proceeding peacefully when suddenly the police ordered it to disperse. A bomb exploded, killing one policeman and fatally wounding several others. The police fired into the crowd, killing and wounding many. Out of this incident, known as the Haymarket Riot, grew the widely known anarchist trials.

". . . the reaction from Haymarket gave occasion for the enactment of legislation distinctly unfavorable to labor organizations, hampering their activities and making agitation dangerous. Such measures wer the Cole Anti-Boycott Law and the Merritt Conspiracy Law. . . ."

(Eugene Staley: History of the Illinois Federation of Labor, p. 71.)

The Merritt Law was passed in 1887. It held that "persons who by speech or print might advise any unlawful

course of action were to be held responsible for all the consequences, and if life were lost they were to be deemed guilty of murder, whether any connection between the advice given and the actual crime could be shown or not. . . ."

(Eugene Staley: History of the Illinois Federation of Labor, p. 161.)

The Merritt Conspiracy Law was repealed in 1891. The Cole Anti-Boycott Law held until 1929.

1902. On May 30, 1901, a strike began at Allis-Chalmers in Chicago and continued for more than a year. The issue was union recognition and wages. The company secured a force of nonunion men and operated its plant under guard. In clashes between pickets and nonunion workers, two men were killed, and nearly 100 assaulted.

(7th Annual Report of the State Board of Arbitration of Illinois, 1902.)

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Boyle, Ohio D. History of the Railroad Strikes. Washington, D. C.: Brotherhood Publishing Co., 1935.

Cayton, Horace C. and Mitchell, George S. Black Workers and the New Unions. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1939.

Chicago Joint Board, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. The Clothing Workers of Chicago, 1910-1922. Chicago: Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, 1922.

Corey, Lewis. Meat and Man. New York: Viking Press, 1950.

David, H. History of the Haymarket Affair. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1936.

Illinois. State Board of Arbitration. Annual Reports.

Illinois. State Department of Labor. Annual Reports.

Interchurch World Movement Commission of Inquiry. The Steel Strike of 1919. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Howe, 1920.

La Follette Civil Liberties Committee. Hearings. U. S. Senate Subcommittee on Education and Labor, No. 140,000. Washington, D. C.: United States G.P.O., 1937.

Lindsey, Almont. The Pullman Strike. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942.

Martin, Edward Winslow. The History of the Great Riots: being a full and authentic account of the strikes and riots on the various railroads of the United States and in the mining regions. Philadelphia: National Publishing Co., 1877.

Perlman, Sleig, and Taft, Philip. History of Labor in the United States. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1935.

Staley, Eugene. History of the Illinois State Federation of Labor. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930.

U. S. Commission on Industrial Relations. Final Report and Testimony. 64th Congress, 1st Session. Senate Document No. 415, Volume X. Washington: United Press G.P.O., 1895.

U. S. Senate. Report. Investigation of Strike in Steel Industries, Vol. A, 289. 66th Congress, 1st Session. Washington, D. C.: United States G.P.O., 1919.

U. S. Strike Commission. Report of the Chicago Strike of June-July, 1894. Washington, D. C.: United States G.P.O., 1895.

Vorse, Mary Heaton. Labor's New Millions. New York: Modern Age Books Inc., 1938.

Walsh, J. Raymond. C.I.O.: Industrial Unionism in Action. New York: W. W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1937.

Witte, Edwin E. "Industrial Relations in Meat-Packing", in Labor in Postwar America, Colston E. Warne, Ed. New York: Remsen Press, 1949.